World Alliance News Letter

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China and America

China, one of the "Big Four" of the United Nations, is the subject of greater affection and greater ignorance among the American people than any of the other great powers. There is abundant evidence that the affection is reciprocated by the Chinese, though the ignorance finds less of a counterpart across the Pacific, at least among educated groups. One of the important jobs for Americans in helping to build the United Nations is to secure a clearer understanding of our Chinese ally, her achievements, problems and hopes. The warm response to Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visit offers a starting point.

The world was first amazed at China's resistance, and then somehow accustomed to it. The shock of new aggressions, military pressures and misfortunes, and an outmoded attitude towards the Orient have combined to make China the "Cinderella" of the United Nations. Despite the importance of the "Hitler first" strategy, the tendency to underestimate the importance of the China theater is dangerous, both to the global war and to the global peace. China is one of the "Big Four" of the United Nations, not merely because of her courageous resistance and the suffering of her people, but because of hard-headed calculations concerning her contributions to victory and the organization of peace.

The area of China proper is three-fifths the size of continental United States. It is, with the exception of Russia's maritime provinces, the land mass nearest to Japan. Moreover, China has a war-tested army of three million, which has stood off and frequently defeated Japanese troops, pitting rifles and resolution against artillery, tanks and planes. Behind this army is nearly one-fifth of mankind. For every 10 Americans there are 34 Chinese. With such reserves of manpower and the possibilities of considerable industrialization, China has a key rôle to play in winning the war and the peace.

China, furthermore, of all the great powers, has made thus far the most specific commitments to the policy of world organization through the United Nations. She has likewise made the strongest pronouncements on the rights and needs of underprivileged and weaker peoples. Consequently, China is a major ally in the struggle for a just and stable peace.

American church groups can do much to promote better relations between China and America, within the United Nations. Here are four proposals for action:

1. We can work for the organization of an effective Council of the United Nations, in which China and the United States participate as equals. China is committed to this objective. America is not. A critical resolution, drafted by two Republican and two Democratic Senators, is a move towards American commitment. (See March *News Letter.)* We can write to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Tom Connally, and to our own Senators supporting S. Res. 114, or any adequate modification of it.

2. We can work to eliminate attitudes and practices of Western "superiority" which stand in the way of Sino-American friendship. The long-term education in our church schools is fundamental. A short-term step, to symbolize a new attitude towards Asia, is provided by bills to enable Asiatics, within the narrow limits of the regular quotas, to immigrate and to become naturalized citizens. Representative Martin J. Kennedy of New York has introduced a bill removing unjust restrictions on Chinese, and Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota is reported to be introducing a more general bill covering Asiatics, though debarring Japanese, of course, for the duration. We can write our Representative concerning these proposals.

3. We can continue and intensify support for relief work in China through the relief organizations and the missionary boards. Added to war needs is the present famine in Honan province which threatens the life of 5 to 9 million persons. It is "the greatest natural disaster befalling the Chinese since the Sino-Japanese war began." Prompt relief money sent to China can at least help to transport supplies from other provinces to the stricken district. China Relief will be included in the combined National War Fund to be raised in October. Church groups, however, can send immediate help through their denominational relief agencies or through the Church Committee for China Relief, 105 East 22nd Street, New York.

4. We can prepare for collaboration with China in her reconstruction program. A preliminary step towards economic cooperation in Chinese reconstruction is offered by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. The legislation permitting the State Department to negotiate these treaties needs to be renewed before July 1. We can help by writing our two Senators.

To American Christians

A timely message on China is being issued to Christian groups in America by four Protestant leaders: the President of the Federal Council of Churches, the Chairman of the Foreign Missions Conference, the Chairman of the Church Committee for China Relief and the Secretary of the International Missionary Council. The message, which is being published in the forthcoming pamphlet, *China Relief and the Churches —1943,* is as follows:

> All America was profoundly stirred by Madame Chiang Kai-shek in her visit to this country.
>
> Is it too much to say that she must have come by the Providence of God to lead us all to a new understanding of the full meaning of China to the world, to America and especially to Christian America?
>
> Christianity has given real values to China; now we know that China has something of her own, truly vital, to give to us. Such is the indelible impact made upon us by this marvelous Christian woman from China.
>
> She has given us a new dynamic for our Christian services to the weary, bruised, starving or undernourished but unflinching people of China who will shortly enter upon the seventh successive year of war with all of its cumulative tragedies.
>
> Through our Christian workers, institutions and service we can give China strength and courage for bearing her cross.
>
> We ask your steadfast devotion to the unfinished task remaining before us.
>
> In His Name,
>
> H. St. George Tucker — Harper Sibley
> A. L. Warnshuis — J. W. Decker

Three Ways Forward

There appear to be three practical methods by which the United States can move towards responsible participation in the organization of the United Nations, the key problem of a just peace in our time. All of these ultimately rest upon the will of our citizens, and hence in part upon the educational programs of our churches.

The first way forward is a firm and formal commitment on the part of the United States and its allies to a council of the United Nations. A significant step in this direction was the introduction into the Senate last month of S. Res. 114. Senator Ball, one of the sponsors of the bill, said on April 10 that the bill had two main purposes:

> 1. To establish international machinery for settling disputes.
>
> 2. To set up an international force to stop future aggression.

A second way forward is the development of United Nations cooperation on specific issues as a stepping stone to permanent cooperation. The conference on post-war problems of food and other agricultural products, to which the governments of 38 nations have been invited by the United States Government, is an example of such an approach. The conference will begin in the United States on April 27, probably in a midwestern center. The success of cooperation on a limited scale makes for increasing cooperation in other areas.

The third way forward is offered by issues in national policy which have international bearing. A primary case in point is the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program, instituted by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, which achieved some concrete results in liberalizing our trade policies before the war. The legislation empowering the State Department to negotiate such treaties needs to be renewed before July 1. Hearings are now under way before the House Ways and Means Committee. While the fate of this legislation may not have much immediate effect upon trade policy, it will be a test of the purposes of our foreign policy and will be accepted as such by our allies. Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles recently described the significance of the vote to be taken by Congress on this act:

> The renewed grant of such authority (i.e. Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act) by as large and as bipartisan a vote as possible, will settle the main question. It will demonstrate that the people of the United States approve and intend to have their government act in accordance with the promises and hopes expressed in their behalf in the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration by United Nations, and the Lend-Lease Agreements. Once that has been made clear the rest of the world and the executive branch of the government of the United States will know where they stand and the general policy that they can count on. They and we can then go forward, with whatever speed and by whatever detailed methods other developments make possible, to carry out that policy.
>
> The decision about the trade agreements authority is not the only choice, or the most difficult, that the people of the United States will have to make about the foundations of the peace. But it is fundamental, and it happens to come first in time. Our action on it will be an acid test of our intentions.

Institutes in the South

Continuing the campaign organized by the World Alliance, the Church Peace Union, Citizens for Victory, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, League of Nations Association and the International Free World Association, three institutes on the theme, "Win the War — Win the Peace," were held in the South: at Durham, North Carolina, February 11-12, at Atlanta, Georgia, February 14-16, and at Richmond, Virginia, March 14-15. The sponsoring committees for each of these institutes were widely representative of the communities. The addresses were enthusiastically received and the discussions were lively and stimulating.

The next institute in the series will be held at Denver, Colorado, May 9-11.

China's War for Freedom

For sixty-nine long months the people of China have opposed a million mechanized troops of Japan. It has been a war of grim difficulties, of grievious suffering, of unflinching resistance and of an unconquerable will to be free. Despite obvious differences, there are interesting parallels between China's war for freedom and our own, the American Revolution.

As in the American Revolution, an army inadequately trained and equipped is warring against an experienced and well-equipped army. Due to the mechanization of modern war, the Chinese troops are at a far greater disadvantage than were the Patriot troops of 1776. China, furthermore, lacks the means for manufacturing the artillery, tanks and planes of modern war. Her coasts are blockaded, her "New York" and "Philadelphia" are occupied, and four of her five main industrial areas below the Great Wall are in Japanese hands. About 120,000 tons of equipment were moved inland. The production of pig iron in Free China is said to have more than tripled between 1937 and 1940. But at the end of 1940 there were in occupied China roughly 1,500 factories based on power and employing more than 30 workers each. There is some smuggling from occupied territory and some supplies via Russia and India. These resources, however, do not enable China to mount a large-scale counter offensive.

The lack of modern weapons has determined the military strategy of the Chinese. They call it a "magnetic strategy," drawing the enemy into the interior away from bases and supplies, forcing him to lengthen lines of communication and weaken his main striking force. Washington and Greene also yielded space to gain time and weaken the enemy. But in China, because of the dense population, about 175 to the square mile in China proper (1,500 per square mile of the crop area), and because of the type of war the Japanese are waging, the war of attrition has brought terrible suffering to the Chinese people. Some 100 million people live in the occupied areas.

Fabian strategy has succeeded in China as it did in the American colonies because of the decentralized character of the economy. China is a land of small farmers. The "typical" Chinese lives with his wife and three or four children on a farm of three or four acres. The house has a dirt floor, mud walls, tiled roof and small windows covered with oiled paper. The farm is one of perhaps 50 in the village. On it the farmer and his family work constantly with their hands to produce one or two crops of rice or wheat each year. From it and from the produce of the neighborhood the farmer secures most of his family's livelihood. This small farm, often heavily burdened with local taxes, debt, and high interest rates, is the backbone of China's economy. Consequently, Japan's seizure of the coastal areas has had less effect on China's economic life than it would have had on a highly industrialized state.

Yet decentralization has brought difficulties to China's war effort as it did to the American colonists. Measures undertaken include somewhat higher income and excess profits taxes, a partially successful land tax in kind instituted in 1941, government monopolies in sugar, matches and tobacco, and an issue in 1942 of war bonds based on an American loan. These measures, however, have succeeded only in part and do not compensate for the loss of customs duties. According to Lawrence K. Rosinger, government revenues in 1942 are estimated to cover only one-fourth to one-third of war expenditures. Consequently, as in the case of the Continental Congress, there has been an inflationary printing of paper money. Prices have risen sharply during the past two years and the Chinese dollar has decreased to about one-fortieth or one-fiftieth of its prewar value, according to one estimate. Inflation again, as in the Colonial days, has been intensified by speculation and hoarding. Effective price controls have not as yet proved possible. Inflation has not hit the bulk of the population as severely as it has hit workers and middle class groups in government and schools.

Transport, like finance, is an unsolved problem in Free China. Japan holds most of the railways and the best waterways. The German invasion of Russia and the Japanese capture of Hong Kong and Burma greatly limit the possibilities of motor transport. The backs of men remain the chief method of transport in western China.

Another and an obvious parallel between China and the thirteen original states is the presence of courageous and unswerving leadership. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the symbol and center of national unity and resistance. Despite autonomous tendencies in the provinces, despite the atomic character of peasant economy, despite social divisions, national solidarity has been maintained. The establishment of a national advisory group, the People's Political Council, set up in 1938, is a step towards representation of minority groups and the transfer of internal conflicts from a military to a political level. Opposition to the government's financial policy is serious but probably can be met through the extension of central authority and the development of democracy in the villages. The Three Principles of the People, like the Declaration of Independence 167 years ago, is a great charter under which and for which the people struggle.

The war which began in 1937 is also comparable to the war which began in 1775 in that it has become part of a larger war which conditions and may determine the outcome.

China and World Security

China's objectives in the present war seem to be clear and straightforward. Her international aims are basically two.

One objective is the organization of a reliable system of international security in which China participates as an equal and which will guarantee freedom from aggression to China as well as to other states. As the longest sufferer from Axis aggression, China works for collective protection through the United Nations to replace the old international anarchy. The objective was summarized by China's Foreign Minister, Dr. T. V. Soong, on October 10, 1942, China's "Fourth of July":

> After victory we want lasting peace. From this stems the natural desire of China to see set up, as quickly as possible, an Executive Council of the United Nations, and to help evolve therefrom a workable world order, an international instrument fully capable of dispensing justice and enforcing law and order among nations during, as well as after, the war.

The emphasis here is upon action now, while the pressures of war are strong, to permit such an organization to "catch on" and to improve the prosecution of the war. This last is central in Chinese thinking. China has borne the brunt of Japanese aggression and her record, experience, manpower, needs and geographical position entitle her to a prominent place in the Asiatic strategy of the United Nations. China wants to participate as an equal in great-power planning, now largely in Anglo-American hands. She wants a correct estimate of the Japanese menace, of Chinese needs and potentialities. Concretely, she needs artillery, tanks and planes and therefore wants adequate priority given to the reconquest of Burma.

The second major aim of China's foreign policy is to help achieve the substitution of genuine international collaboration for the old imperialism. The objective was summarized by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his important message to the New York Herald Tribune Forum on November 17, 1942:

> China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or of anyone else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional blocs, which in the end make for bigger and better wars, to effective organization of world unity. Unless real world cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us.

This policy was reinforced by Chiang Kai-Shek's broadcast to Thailand on February 26, 1943, in which he pledged that neither China nor her allies have any territorial ambitions in Thailand. Dr. T. V. Soong said further on March 12 that China had no territorial ambitions beyond regaining occupied areas. The Chinese regard Manchuria and Formosa, largely Chinese in population, as part of China, but not Korea or Indo-China. The former they hope to see independent.

After victory by the United Nations, China will be potentially the strongest power in Asia, with a great need for industry and agricultural rehabilitation, but with a determination that is the prelude to power. The collaboration of China in the peace machinery will be essential to the maintainance of any durable peace in the Far East. The participation of China in post-war organization likewise seems essential to the hope of a just peace. For China, as one of the great non-imperialist powers, can serve as a safeguard for the interests and welfare of weaker peoples.

In her relations with the Far East the United States confronts three alternatives.

One possible policy is to pursue the pre-war balance of power in the Far East. By means of the "Open Door," the United States attempted to maintain a balance among the great powers in exploiting China. By means of support for China's independence, the United States attempted to prevent the process of exploitation from destroying China. The abolition of the unequal extra-territorial treaties by the United States and Britain is recognition, at least, that it would be much more difficult to pursue the old policies in renascent China. Indeed such a policy might well evoke an anti-Western coalition in Asia that would preclude any stable organization of peace.

A second alternative is the formation of a Pacific federation or council of Asia in which China and the United States would participate but which would not necessarily be part of a world organization. Such a council was suggested by Prime Minister Churchill in his address of March 26. The proposal aroused no enthusiasm in Chungking. The relegation of Asiatic problems to a secondary and partial international organization is feared by Chinese leaders and friends of China as a method of maintaining a "double standard" with regard to Eastern and Western problems. There is room for a Far Eastern council *within* a world organization, to deal efficiently with some of the special problems of that area. But so many problems of the Far East depend upon world security that they can be solved only through the participation of China in a strong and integrated world organization.

The organization of a real council of the United Nations, in which China and America participate as equals and partners, offers the best hope for the development of genuine cooperation between the two peoples. China is already committed to such a policy. The American people need to commit themselves to the same policy.

The Reconstruction of China

The China of today cannot be understood except in terms of the Chinese Revolution and the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Many factors have delayed the development of the revolution. From 1911, when the decrepit Manchu Dynasty fell, until 1927, when the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party came into power, there was a series of conflicts among war lords. From 1927 until 1937 there was a bitter struggle between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists. From 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria, there was almost constant aggression on the part of Japan, culminating in the full-scale war that commenced in 1937. These conflicts have stood in the way of the social reforms inspired by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Dr. Sun's program is summarized in three famous principles: "national independence, progressive realization of democracy, and a rising level of living conditions for the masses." Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's comment on November 17 is significant:

> When victory comes at the end of this war, we shall have fully achieved national independence but will have far to go to attain our other two objectives. Hence our claim that ours is still a Revolutionary Government which means no more or less than it is a government dedicated to attaining these other two objectives.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the China of today is the initiation, despite almost unbelievably difficult war conditions, of some of the steps towards these great goals. Most of the reforms, of course, must await the end of the war, but the wartime beginnings speak highly of the will and ability of the Chinese people to achieve their goals. The "Three Principles" are the framework of post-war reconstruction.

The difficulties of war mobilization and of feeding famine areas have driven home the need for a modern system of transportation. The construction of some 6,000 miles of new highways in Western China during the war has been a remarkable accomplishment. Yet it is only a beginning. The building of new railways, the improvement and extension of waterways and the building of roads rank high among the reconstruction priorities. Indeed, Madame Chiang Kai-shek has pointed out that the primary relief need of post-war China will be a need not for food supplies but for better transport to distribute available supplies.

The creation of heavy industry in the interior provinces is another of the priority tasks. China has learned a bitter lesson from the Japanese seizure of industrial areas near the coast and from the tragic shortage of modern weapons. An inland industrial base for the maintenance of independence is a clear objective for China. The extension of the industrial cooperatives is another possibility for the development of light industry. While only 1,800 of the 30,000 cooperatives originally planned are now functioning, the small shop run by ten to fifty workers seems one of the promising means by which China can move from a peasant economy to a modern economic system.

Perhaps the largest economic problem of Chinese reconstruction is the improvement of agriculture. About 85% of the people are engaged in farming, but the food produced is inadequate to meet even the present low standards of consumption. Chinese farmers need to be trained in better methods of farming, to have improved seeds, scientific methods for combatting plant and animal diseases, cheaper credit and a vigorous program to control floods and mitigate droughts. The development of cooperative farms is one of the possible steps since the fragmentation of land into minute farms and the poverty of tenant farmers, who cultivate a little more than one quarter of the farm land of China, are major obstacles to rural reconstruction. The improvement of Chinese agriculture was attempted before the war and has been continued in the Western Provinces during the war. A particularly fine program is reported being conducted by the University of Nanking in Szechwan. According to official Chinese figures, the production of cereals in the fifteen Provinces of Free China increased during 1941 by nearly 5,000,000 tons. A further increase of 2,500,000 tons was the goal for 1942. While these advances are notable, adequate reconstruction of agriculture depends upon victory.

The social services offer fundamental objectives for reconstruction. The popular education movement, stimulated by such leaders as Jimmy Yen, Hu Shih and others, is still really in its initial stages. According to Dr. M. Searle Bates, "some 25 million children and young people are now in regular schools and many millions more are undergoing special training in classes for adults and for shop apprentices." The development of popular education is vital because it is so closely linked with the development of democracy. The rebuilding of colleges is another aim, since the schools have been a particular object of Japanese terrorism. Dr. Wellington Koo said in July 1942:

> The long and perilous trek of tens of thousands of teachers and pupils over mountains, rivers and jungles is an epic of wartime China. Their exodus often means a journey on foot of hundreds of miles attended by danger and privations. In some cases the long caravans of students and professors had to travel 2,000 miles.

Public health services are another crucial area for reconstruction. The government program is one of state medicine based upon county health centers under provincial administration. The advance during the war years is remarkable. In 1937 there were seven provincial administrative health organizations and 217 county administrative health centers. In 1942 the figures were

16 and 783 respectively, with 1,171 counties lacking such centers. Special health stations have been set up on highways and the number has increased from 18 in 1939 to 57 in 1942. The number of doctors and dentists has also increased, though still pitifully small: By the end of October 1942 there were 12,018 doctors and 322 dentists registered with the health administration.

Their successful war of resistance to Japan has given the Chinese people a new confidence in their national destiny and in their ability to mold that destiny for a happier social life. The reconstruction of China will be based primarily upon a Chinese program and aid from Western countries will necessarily be subordinated to that program. As Madame Chiang Kai-shek has stressed again and again in her addresses in the United States, the Chinese desire mutuality rather than charity. Long-term loans at a low rate of interest is a major way by which the United States can not only help the transition period of reconstruction in China, but also the transition period of demobilization in the United States, by providing a market for machines and the products of heavy industry. A similar project was suggested by Dr. Sun Yat-sen after the last war.

The end of the extraterritoriality treaties provides a good psychological basis for such loans. It may be that the most desirable method, as was suggested at the recent Mont Tremblant Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, would be a program of government loans through the Export-Import Bank. Another possibility has been suggested by J. B. Condliffe:

> A United Nations Development Corporation, coordinating programs of essential development worked out by competent national authorities in such countries as China, could finance the letting of contracts that would prevent both a collapse of employment in the manufacturing countries and indiscriminate investment in the receiving countries.

American Aid to China

China's friendly attitude toward the United States is the more remarkable since as a nation this country has given both aid and injury to China. During the four years 1937 through 1940 the United States sold to Japan some $986,000,000 worth of essential war supplies and helped Japan to pay for these supplies by importing $650,000,000 worth of goods from Japan. During the same period, we imported only $306,000,000 worth of goods from China and enabled her to buy $220,000,000 worth of supplies.

To facilitate trade with China the United States Export-Import Bank between December, 1938 and December, 1940 extended to China short-term loans totalling $120,000,000. These loans, as Lawrence K. Rosinger has pointed out, were essentially barter arrangements to enable China to secure non-military commodities more quickly in exchange for tung oil, tin, tungsten and antimony. The United States also extended to China two loans for stabilization purposes, one for $50,000,000 in December, 1940, and one in March, 1942, for $500,000,000.

Further aid was given to China after the enactment of Lend-Lease legislation by March, 1941. Between March, 1941, and January, 1943, $157,000,000 in military supplies, industrial equipment and services were sent to China under Lend-Lease. This amounted to about 1.9 per cent of the total of Lend-Lease supplies sent abroad during this period, and part of these supplies have been offset by Chinese "Lend-Lease"—the provision of living quarters, local food, servants, certain planes and important military supplies to American troops stationed in China. The fall of Burma has created a major obstacle to new supplies for China.

The political and psychological aid given to China by the United States has been real though intangible. The Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition, the statements of Secretary of State Hull condemning Japanese aggression, and the recent agreement to yield extraterritorial rights in China, have given moral support to the Chinese Republic, and helped to express good will.

A brighter part of the record is the help given by American citizens and private organizations to the people of China. American relief contributions do not compare in sacrifice with the gifts of Chinese communities outside of China, but they are an expression of friendship, they have mitigated a great deal of misery, and they are increasing. According to the pamphlet *China Relief and the Churches—1943,* American contributions in 1942 for direct aid to the Chinese people amounted to more than $12,500,000, the largest sum raised for any relief area. United China Relief, which includes the Church Committee for China Relief and the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, received a little over $7,000,000. An additional $2,200,000 was given to community war chests, payable to United China Relief during 1943. Protestant mission boards and other denominational agencies are reported to have spent nearly $2,500,000 in China for medical, educational, social and religious services. The Catholic Church in this country is said to have spent over $1,000,000 during 1942 for similar services in China. The total does not include sums sent by foundations and special agencies.

This is a good record when compared, not with the need or the possibilities of giving, but with earlier contributions. Perhaps the most significant feature is that a great deal of the relief work in China builds for the future. It is more than temporary aid to immediate needs. It is help for the developing social services so vital to Chinese reconstruction.

Religion in China

The Christian community in China is of special concern to religious groups in the United States. The development of this Christian community is excellently summarized in the forthcoming manual, *China Relief and the Churches—1943*. The statement is as follows:

> When the war started in 1937, there were laboring in China not less than 11,450 Christian missionaries from Europe, America and Australia. Of this number 5,300 were Catholic and 6,150 were Protestant. (About 10 per cent of the Catholics and half of the Protestants were American.—*Ed.*) They represented in addition to the clergy, many other professions and specialties; there were many doctors and nurses, sisters of charity, teachers and research workers and translators.
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> This devoted group had left their homes in order to share their best with the people of China. First and foremost they brought the Bible with its message of the gospel and of the grace of God as revealed in Christ. In addition they brought modern medicine—opening the first hospital over a century ago and gradually increasing the number to 274—three-fourths of all the civilian hospitals that exist in that huge country today. (The totals were larger before the Japanese invasion.—*Ed.*)
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> They also brought modern education, built up schools and colleges which gradually transformed the whole educational system of China. For the Chinese Government adopted the idea of universal education and began to build up modern schools and colleges of its own. But even today the sixteen Christian colleges—thirteen Protestant and three Catholic—occupy a very important place in the intellectual life of the country. In addition to classical studies they have introduced scientific agriculture, animal husbandry, medical training, and many other practical courses.
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> While busily engaged in bringing the best of the West to China, these messengers of the Church have also sought to carry the best gifts of China to the West. They have invested the energies of their best linguists in translating into English, French and other languages, China's classics—her sacred books, the wisdom of Confucius and other sages, as well as the historical and poetic books which she has most highly valued. In this and other ways they have striven to tell Western nations of the great achievements of the Chinese people.
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> As a result of their labors there is now in China a Christian community numbering about four million. This includes the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, many cabinet ministers and ambassadors, bankers, business men, farmers, artisans. The leadership of this Christian community is now largely in the hands of the Chinese themselves. They furnish the predominant number of bishops and moderators, college presidents and professors, pastors and priests, doctors and social workers.
>
> Many of the missionaries have now been interned by the Japanese. Many have been repatriated. Thousands more are still at work in Free China, sharing with the people of their adoption the rigors of war and the hardships of blockade. They not only believe it has all been worthwhile; they confidently declare that they are today confronted with an opportunity such as Christianity has not seen for a thousand years.

The prestige of missionaries who have remained at their posts in the midst of war and want stands out against the generally lowered prestige of Westerners since Pearl Harbor and Singapore. This speaks well for the post-war cooperation of Western and Chinese Christians. Yet Westerners need to realize, as missionary leaders increasingly realize, that relationships in the new China will vary greatly from those in pre-war China. Church planning, like government planning, will largely be in Chinese hands. Missionary aid will fit in with decisions of the National Christian Council and similar bodies. The coming of age of the Christian community in China is the true end towards which the missionary enterprise has been moving.

Furthermore, Christian projects in China will be affected by government plans. Many of the hospitals will no doubt become part of the government health program, and the lower church schools will become state schools. The Christian colleges may maintain their present status for a longer time but the trend towards state education will probably be present in China as it has been in the United States. Christian activities in China, therefore, will need to explore new types of work. Demonstration experiments not only in schools and public health but in the development of cooperatives, of industrial and agricultural missions, are among the possibilities.

While the Christian community in China has an influence far greater than its numbers, it is well to remember that it comprises less than 1 per cent of the population. The majority of the Chinese people are habitually influenced by the social teachings of Confucius. "Confucianism," said the founder of the Tang Dynasty, "is to the Chinese as water to the fish." A considerable fraction of the people follow some Buddhist rites, at least in funeral ceremonies. Buddhism forms a cultural link between China and India. China also has 30 to 40 million Mohammedans. These facts must be taken into account.

It has been said that religion in Europe means metaphysics, in India mysticism, and in China concern for human relationships. Certainly the dominant characteristic of China's cultural heritage is a deep concern for practical problems of ethics. Indeed it is the ethical aspect of Christianity which appeals to Chinese converts. There is need for cooperation by Christians in China and America within the world Christian community. There is also need for the development of broad cultural relations.

The continuation and extension of exchange scholarships is an important way to promote cultural understanding. Even more important is adequate treatment of Chinese history and culture in our schools. Textbooks which do not neglect the Far East need to be used more widely. Training in Oriental art and philosophy needs to be extended. Greater changes are needed in secular schools than in church schools, but even here there is room for much improvement. It is high time for East and West to meet on the basis of mutual understanding and appreciation.

SUGGESTED READING

Half of Humanity by M. Searle Bates. 1942. Church Peace Union publication. 10 cents.

Perhaps the best single pamphlet on Far Eastern peoples and problems now available for church study groups in the United States.

All That We Are and All That We Have by Chiang Kai-shek. 1942. Chinese News Service, Rockefeller Center, New York. 25 cents.

Important speeches by the Generalissimo are here collected in convenient and attractive form. China's leader has recently published a new book entitled *China's Destiny*. Although the book has not been published in the United States as yet, a brief summary may be secured from the Chinese News Service for 10 cents.

We Chinese Women by Mei-ling Soong Chiang. 1943. Chinese News Service. 25 cents.

A companion publication to the preceding pamphlet. The addresses reveal the sensitivity of China's First Lady to human needs.

China Relief and the Churches—1943. *To be published shortly.* United China Relief, 1790 Broadway, New York. Free to ministers.

An excellent handbook for church groups in raising money for China relief. Other promotional material is listed.

Dangerous Opportunity by Earle H. Ballou. 1940. Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

Used widely in Protestant study groups, this book gives the background of the Chinese churches and the part they have played in the creation of China.

China: America's Ally by Robert W. Barnett. 1942. Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York. 15 cents.

A good basic pamphlet for the average study group.

Asia in a New World Order by Owen Lattimore. 1942. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York. 25 cents.

An important statement by the American political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, now on leave in this country.

Pacific Relations. Supplement to *Fortune*. August, 1942. May be secured by writing to the General Manager of *Fortune,* Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York.

The second in the series of monographs on "The United States in a New World."

China's War Economy by Lawrence K. Rosinger. 1942. Foreign Policy Association. 25 cents.

A good factual summary of the economic difficulties of China's war effort.

The Post-War Industrialization of China by H. D. Fong. 1942. National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 50 cents.

A large number of important facts about the economic development of China are included in this pamphlet. More for the advanced and special student than for the general reader.

China After Five Years of War. 1942. Chinese News Service. $1.00.

Reports sent by radio from the Chinese Ministry of Information in Chungking.

War and Peace in the Pacific. 1943. Institute of Pacific Relations. $1.25.

The views of many experts on critical Far Eastern problems are summarized in the preliminary report of the I.P.R. Conference held at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, in December.

Basis for Peace in the Far East by Nathaniel Peffer. 1942. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.50

Professor Peffer emphasizes the importance of a strong China for stability in the Far East.

The Development of China by K. S. Latourette. 5th edition, 1937. Houghton-Mifflin, Boston. $3.00.

One of the better brief histories of China. Professor Latourette's longer book, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture,* is recommended as background material for advanced study groups.

San Min Chu I by Sun Yat-sen. Reprint in English, 1943. Chinese News Service. $1.50.

The "Three Principles of the People" is the basic character of the Chinese Republic.

The Wisdom of China and India edited by Lin Yutang. 1942. Random House, New York. $3.95.

A useful collection of Eastern classics. A knowledge of the *Analects* of Confucius is essential to understanding the culture of China.

One World by Wendell L. Willkie. 1943. Simon & Schuster. New York. Paper edition, $1.

Mr. Willkie's vivid report of his globe-encircling journey has an important message for Americans: in the interdependent world of today the United States has a very great opportunity and responsibility to help organize international cooperation.

Reciprocal Trade Program and Post-War Reconstruction by Howard P. Whidden, Jr. 1943. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38 Street, New York. 25 cents.

A timely Foreign Policy Report.

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